

Message Text

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY: EUR CONTRIBUTION TO
Q'S AND A'S

FOR S/S TEAM, BREMER AND LORD

FOLLOWING ARE EUR'S Q'S AND A'S ON CYPRUS:

EUR QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON CYPRUS.

Q - COULD YOU DEFINE THE OBJECTIVES AND CONTENT OF OUR
POLICY TOWARD CYPRUS. WHAT HAVE WE BEEN DOING SINCE THE
FIGHTING STOPPED LAST AUGUST?

A - THE US HAS FOUR PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVES: (A) TO SUPPORT
THE INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY, AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY
OF CYPRUS, (B) TO RELIEVE HUMAN SUFFERING ON THE ISLAND,
(C) TO ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT WHICH IS BOTH
EQUITABLE AND ENDURING, AND (D) IN SO DOING, TO REMOVE
CYPRUS AS AN IRRITANT IN GREEK/TURKISH RELATIONS AND AS
A SOURCE OF INSTABILITY IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.

SINCE AUGUST WE HAVE BEEN URGING MODERATION AND RESTRAINT,
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WORKING TO FOSTER A CLIMATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS, AND ACTIVE-

LY SUPPORTING THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS BETWEEN ACTING PRESIDENT CLERIDES AND VICE PRESIDENT DENKTASH. THESE TALKS HAVE ACHIEVED AGREEMENT ON A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT HUMANITARIAN ISSUES, AND HAVE ESTABLISHED A FRAMEWORK FOR BROADENED DISCUSSIONS ON A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. WE ARE CONTINUING TO EXPLORE IN DETAIL, WITH EACH OF THE PARTIES INVOLVED, WAYS IN WHICH THESE POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS MIGHT BE FACILITATED.

THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS HAS, TO BE SURE, MOVED MORE SLOWLY THAN WE HAVE HOPED. NEVERTHELESS, THERE CONTINUE TO BE GROUNDS FOR OPTIMISM. THE UN RESOLUTION, PASSED ON NOVEMBER 1 WITH THE SUPPORT OF GREECE, TURKEY AND CYPRUS, PROVIDES A FRAMEWORK FOR DISCUSSING EACH OF THE CRUCIAL QUESTIONS INVOLVED IN A FUTURE CYPRUS SETTLEMENT. THERE IS ALSO GOOD REASON TO BELIEVE THAT WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A STRONG, DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN ATHENS AND THE FORMATION OF A NEW GOVERNMENT IN ANKARA THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS CAN MOVE FORWARD EXPEDITIOUSLY. IT IS MY INTENTION TO EXPLORE THIS PROSPECT FURTHER WHEN I MEET WITH THE GREEK AND TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTERS IN BRUSSELS ON DECEMBER 10-11.

Q - YOU HAVE SPOKEN PUBLICLY ABOUT THE NEED FOR TURKEY TO DISPLAY FLEXIBILITY AND MAKE GESTURES NECESSARY TO GET THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS STARTED. WHY HAS TURKEY NOT BEEN FORTHCOMING IN THIS AREA? WHAT LEADS YOU TO BELIEVE THAT ANKARA WILL DO IN DECEMBER OR JANUARY WHAT IT HAS FAILED TO DO SINCE LAST JULY?

A - I DON'T THINK IT PROFITABLE TO SPEND MUCH TIME LOOKING BACKWARD. AS BOTH THE PRESIDENT AND I HAVE SAID, WE THINK

PART OF THE REASON FOR THE LACK OF EARLY MOVEMENT RESTS WITH CONGRESSIONAL DELIBERATIONS IN SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER WHICH SOUGHT TO CUT OFF AID TO TURKEY. THIS CONGRESSIONAL ACTION MADE THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT, AS IT WOULD MAKE ANY GOVERNMENT, RELUCTANT TO TAKE CERTAIN UNILATERAL, CONCILIATORY STEPS. ADDED TO THAT WAS A DELAY CAUSED BY THE DOMESTIC GOVERNMENTAL CRISIS IN TURKEY WHICH TWICE FORCED

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A POSTPONEMENT OF MY VISIT TO ANKARA, AND THUS A DISCUSSION OF WHAT KIND OF TURKISH GESTURES MIGHT BE OFFERED. AS FOR WHAT KIND OF GESTURES WOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO GET A NEGOTIATING PROCESS STARTED, THAT IS FOR THE PARTIES THEMSELVES TO DECIDE.

Q - WHAT IS THE SIZE OF TURKISH FORCES ON CYPRUS? DO YOU SEE ANY GROUNDS FOR THINKING THE TURKS WILL REDUCE THE

NUMBER OF TROOPS THEY HAVE STATIONED ON THE ISLAND?

A - OUR BEST GUESS IS THAT THERE ARE SOMEWHERE AROUND 35,000 TURKISH TROOPS ON CYPRUS. THIS IS SOMEWHAT BELOW THE PEAK FIGURES LAST SUMMER, AND POSSIBLY REFLECTS A WITHDRAWAL UNDERTAKEN BY THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT. I SEE NO POINT IN GETTING INTO A NUMBERS GAME, BUT THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT HAS SAID PUBLICLY IT WISHES TO REDUCE ITS FORCES ON CYPRUS AND IS PREPARED TO DO SO IN CONNECTION WITH A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT WHICH ADEQUATELY PROTECTS THE TURKISH COMMUNITY. THUS, I BELIEVE THAT IT IS ONLY THROUGH THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION THAT WE CAN LOOK ULTIMATELY TO THE WITHDRAWAL OF TURKISH FORCES.

Q - YOU HAVE BEEN STUDYING THE LEGALITY OF CONTINUING MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY, UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1961, SINCE AUGUST. WHAT IS YOUR FINAL JUDGMENT ON THIS QUESTION?

A - AFTER CAREFULLY WEIGHING THE LEGAL AND FOREIGN POLICY CONSIDERATIONS, THE ADMINISTRATION DECIDED THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE PUBLICLY TO EXPRESS A LEGAL CONCLUSION ON THE ISSUE OF TURKEY'S ELIGIBILITY FOR FURTHER ASSISTANCE AND SALES WITHOUT UNDERMINING OUR FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES. NEVERTHELESS, WE MADE ADJUSTMENTS IN THE OPERATION OF OUR MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND SALES PROGRAMS WITH A VIEW TO ENSURING MAXIMUM POSSIBLE COMPLIANCE WITH THE RELEVANT STATUTES UNDER THE EXISTING CIRCUMSTANCES.

Q - DO YOU BELIEVE THE CONGRESS WOULD BE JUSTIFIED IN CUTTING OFF MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY? YOU WILL RECALL THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS GIVEN AUTHORITY UNTIL DECEMBER 10 TO MAINTAIN ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY. WHY SHOULD THE CONGRESS

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TAKE ANY OTHER COURSE NOW BUT CUT OFF AID?

A - I BELIEVE VERY STRONGLY THAT A CUTOFF OF ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY WOULD INHIBIT OUR ABILITY TO PLAY A USEFUL ROLE IN CONNECTION WITH CYPRUS AND THAT OF TURKEY TO MAKE CONCESSIONS. IT WOULD THEREFORE DELAY THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS AND DELAY A SETTLEMENT. THE CYPRUS ISSUE IS OLD AND COMPLEX. IT IS UNREASONABLE TO BELIEVE THAT IT CAN BE SOLVED IN 30 TO 90 DAYS. BUT ANY STEP WHICH FURTHER INFLAMES THE SITUATION BY ANGERING UNNECESSARILY ONE SIDE OR ANOTHER IS MERELY AN IMPEDIMENT TO PROGRESS. OUR GOAL IS A SOLUTION WHICH BRINGS PEACE TO CYPRUS AND ENABLES GREECE AND TURKEY TO ESTABLISH A FRIENDLY, PRODUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH ONE ANOTHER. THESE GOALS CANNOT BE ADVANCED BY CONGRESSIONAL ACTION DIRECTED AGAINST ONE OF

OUR ALLIES.

Q - WILL ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS RETURN TO CYPRUS, AND WHAT EFFECT WOULD HIS RETURN HAVE ON CHANCES FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT?

A - AS YOU KNOW, WE CONSIDER THE ARCHBISHOP TO BE THE ELECTED PRESIDENT OF CYPRUS. IF HE DECIDES TO RETURN TO THE ISLAND, WE WOULD CONTINUE TO DEAL WITH HIM AS WE ALWAYS HAVE -- AS THE PRESIDENT. WE WOULD HOPE, OF COURSE, THAT SHOULD HE DECIDE TO GO BACK, HE WOULD ENCOURAGE THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION, BY LENDING HIS SUPPORT TO THE CURRENT INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS NOW IN PROGRESS BETWEEN CLERIDES AND DENKTASH. INGERSOLL

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